DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 163 458 CS 204 385

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TITLE The CIA-Media Connection.
PUB DATE Aug 78
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (61st, Seattle, Washington, August 13-16, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Ethical Values; Federal Government; Foreign Countries; *Government Role; Information Utilization; *Journalism; News Media; *News Reporting; Press Opinion; *Propaganda
IDENTIFIERS *Central Intelligence Agency; Espionage

ABSTRACT

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has paid journalists, used information from unpaid journalists, owned foreign media outlets, planted stories, and put the lid on other stories throughout its 30-year history. Journalism makes a good cover for agents because journalists can ask questions without arousing suspicion. It has been estimated that between 40 and 400 overseas journalists from all media have been on the CIA payroll at least part time. They have written stories, cut them, or not printed them at all at the request of the CIA. On at least some occasions, false stories have been planted in the foreign press, have been reprinted in the United States, and have misled the American public. The use of journalists as agents has met opposition from the owners and publishers of the various news media and has raised questions about the ability of a journalist to serve the purposes of the intelligence community and retain integrity as a newsperson. (TJ)

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THE CIA-MEDIA CONNECTION

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Presented to the Newspaper Division,
Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention
Seattle, Washington, August 1978.

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Donald Allan resigned from his job as a reporter at the New York Times in 1952 to take a job abroad, he told the city editor. What Allan did not tell anyone, however, was that he had joined the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Before he left the states, Allan received some training in the craft of intelligence. Then he packed his belongings and set out for Rome, where he was told to find an apartment and "blend in with the landscape." While waiting for the CIA to activate him, Allan worked as a stringer for CBS News and as a part-time employee of United Press International. Months went by before the CIA ever told him to do anything, he said, but finally a contact was made and he was officially in operation. He continued to work by day as a journalist and by night as a deep-cover CIA agent. Some time later, Allan applied for and got a job as Newsweek's Rome correspondent, convinced that the CIA had somehow intervened.[1]

Allan, A CIA agent using his job as a journalist as cover, is one example of how the CIA, during its 30-year history, has used the U.S. and foreign media for cover and to collect intelligence. As a CIA official put it, "One journalist is worth twenty agents."[2] But there are many other facets to the CIA-media connection. CIA-media relationships have involved the paid use of journalists and covert, unpaid relationships with friendly journalists or "assets."[3] In addition, the CIA has owned foreign media outlets such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both established in the early 1950s. The CIA also financed a political and literary monthly, Encounter, published in London and the Rome Daily American, which published its last issue on July 19, 1977. In fact, the CIA had proprietary[4] English language newspapers in most foreign capitals. These newspapers served the dual role of providing cover for intelligence operatives while publishing agency propaganda. The CIA had investments in the Okinawa Morning Star, the Manila Times, the Bangkok World and the Tokyo Evening News. CIA agents were also on the staffs of the Guyana Chronicle, the Haiti Sun, the Japan Times, the Nation of Rangoon, the Caracas Daily Journal and the Bangkok Post.[6] Furthermore, the CIA has planted stories in foreign media and it has manipulated stateside media by leaking information to its assets. Under the guise of protecting national security, the CIA also has been successful in putting the lid on stories in the U.S. media.

The full extent of cooperation between the CIA and the media probably will never be known because of the secrecy surrounding the agency. "Fascinating reading, if true," was Editor & Publisher's reaction to Carl Bernstein's allegation that more than 400 American journalists had secretly carried out assignments for the CIA.[5] Perhaps Bernstein's estimate was exaggerated, but there is no denying that the CIA has made extensive use of the media. This paper will review the relationship that has existed between the CIA and the media and discuss the implications of cooperation between a secret agency and a free press.

The Intelligence Business

Using people undercover to gather information or "intelligence" is not a recent phenomenon. Even General George Washington knew the value of using undercover operatives. After four years of war with the British, Washington said, "The greatest benefits are to be derived from persons who live with the other side. It is with such I have endeavored to establish a correspondence, and on their reports I shall most rely."[7] Washington appealed to Congress for an intelligence fund to pay spies and informers and in 1783, after eight years of war, he drew up a record of his expenses. "Secret intelligence" amounted to £1,982 10s.[8] On today's market that would be about $4,000 U.S.

Today the annual U.S. intelligence budget is about $4 billion, excluding the unknown military intelligence expenditure, and including the CIA's budget, estimated at about $800 million.[9] Until World War II, when the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was created, the United States did not have an overall intelligence service. The OSS gathered intelligence, but it also engaged in political operations and paramilitary operations such as dropping agents by parachute behind enemy lines in Europe and Asia. It was disbanded in 1945 and the following year President Truman established a National Intelligence Authority under a Central Intelligence Group, the forerunner to the CIA. Congress created the CIA in the National Security Act of 1947.

Marchetti and Marks note that "The original mission of the CIA was to coordinate the intelligence-collection programs of the various governmental departments and agencies, and to produce the reports and studies required by the national leadership in conducting the affairs of U.S. foreign policy."[10] But OSS veterans such as General William "Wild Bill" Donovan and Allen Dulles envisioned the agency as a "clandestine instrument by which Washington could

achieve foreign-policy goals not attainable through diplomacy."[11] Thus, the CIA has "focused on espionage, counterespionage, and covert-action programs, including everything from spreading false propaganda through raising 'secret' armies, to the overthrow of governments."[12]

Covert operations--interfering in another country's internal affairs--were justified in policymakers' eyes because of the Cold War threat of Communism. Preserving the Free World, said former CIA Director Dulles, required "fighting fire with fire."[13]

A secret service naturally had to have cover for its agents and what better guise, Dulles decided, than as accredited news correspondents. CIA operatives abroad would have more access and freedom of movement than under almost any other type of cover.[14] Journalists, whose business it is to ask questions, could gather information for the CIA without arousing suspicion. The journalist "can move around town. He can open a post office box, he can open a safe house,[15] he knows how to get a telephone in a place where it sometimes takes three years."[16] Foreign correspondents are permitted to travel in areas often off-limits to other Americans. Much of the correspondent's time is spent cultivating sources in governments, academic institutions, military establishments and the scientific community and in forming long-term personal relationships with sources. According to Bernstein, Americans working undercover abroad often aid in the recruitment and handling of foreign nationals who are channels of secret information reaching American intelligence. The journalist, says Bernstein, "is in a position to make correct judgments about the susceptibility and availability of foreign nationals as spies."[17] Once a foreigner is recruited, the journalist can be used to carry messages between the CIA and the spies.

Journalistic cover has not been as foolproof as Dulles may have expected it to be. One CIA officer who worked as Newsweek's Far Eastern business manager in Tokyo, for example, lost his job because his work for the magazine began to suffer. He then went to work for Asia Magazine, but lost that job as well because of poor performance.[18] Donald Allan said the psychological stress of his double life took its toll on him. He almost killed an Italian journalist in a fit of passion.[19] Another CIA agent doubling as a New York Times stringer in Bangkok was murdered under mysterious circumstances in 1966.[20] In the mid-1960s a part-time correspondent for the New York Times in Montana was offered a job by a CIA recruiter. Although it is not known whether he accepted the offer,

shortly thereafter he began making frequent trips abroad as a writer of travel articles. Three years later he was found with his neck broken on Copacabana Beach in Rio.[21]

On at least one occasion, the CIA placed an ad in Editor & Publisher in an attempt to recruit journalists into its service. Although the ad was placed by the Columbia Development Corporation, a reporter responding to the ad was contacted by a man who identified himself as a recruiter for the CIA. The ad read:

> Lightweights need not apply. This is a tough overseas assignment. College graduates in social sciences, International Relations, or related studies.... Must be outgoing, flexible, imaginative, persuasive, resourceful. Public Relations or Community Relations experience and some language ability... desirable. Salary flexible, fringe benefits liberal. An equal opportunity employer....[22]

Agents and Assets

A story in the Washington Star in 1973 disclosed that the CIA had some 40 U.S. journalists overseas on its payrolls. It was later revealed that former CIA Director William E. Colby was the unnamed source of the article.[23] Most of the newsmen-spies were free-lances and part-time stringers for U.S. publications, but five of them were said to be full-time correspondents for major American news organizations.[24]

Carl Bernstein, in an article in Rolling Stone gives the highest estimate of journalists cooperating with the CIA. He charged that more than 400 journalists had secretly carried out assignments for the CIA.[25] A New York Times investigation put the number more conservatively between 30 and 100. In addition, the Times reported, at least a dozen full-time CIA officers have worked abroad as reporters or noneditorial employees of American-owned news organizations.[26]

According to a Senate Select Committee (the Church Committee) report, the CIA maintained covert relationships with about 50 American journalists or employees of U.S. media organizations. "They are part of a network of several hundred foreign individuals around the world who provide intelligence for the CIA and at times attempt to influence foreign opinion through the use of covert propaganda."[27] Finally, the House Select Committee on Intelligence (the Pike Committee) report says that in 1975 11 CIA employees used media cover with 15 news companies--TV, radio, newspapers and magazines. Five of these were of

"major general news impact." The report also says "that if the correct number of all media and propaganda projects could be determined, it would [be] the largest single category of covert action projects undertaken by the CIA."[28]

Some of the confusion over the number of journalists with past CIA relationships may be attributable to the distinction between an agent and an asset. An agent carries out assignments because he is being paid to do so, but an asset can be anyone the CIA finds useful. Many journalists may not have realized that the CIA considered them assets as they sat down over lunch and exchanged information. "There isn't a foreign correspondent worth his salt who hasn't frequently had lunch with someone from the CIA," notes Times London bureau chief Johnny Apple. "Of course, you hope to get more than you give."[29]

It was, in fact, fairly common practice for American correspondents returning home or preparing to go abroad to be briefed or debriefed by CIA experts. Reporters were asked to keep alert for certain items of information of interest to the CIA.[30] Joseph Alsop, Drew Pearson, Harrison Salisbury and scores of other journalists were regularly debriefed by the agency when they returned from abroad. "These newsmen in no way worked for the agency, but they were glad to provide the incidental information that a traveler might have observed."[31] Selected newsmen, however, went through a second kind of debriefing conducted by the Clandestine Services which was searching for recruits or hoping to place a CIA operator under "deep cover" with a reputable media outlet.[32]

Not all American journalists with intelligence connections were paid by the CIA. According to an editor of Time magazine, a Time correspondent in Eastern Europe was working for a Soviet-bloc intelligence service. A contributor to Life magazine may have been a double agent working simultaneously for the CIA and a hostile foreign intelligence service.[33]

Prior to the release of the Washington Star story, then-CIA Director William E. Colby assured the New York Times that none of its staff members or stringers were in the agency's employ. Colby also told the Washington Post, Time and Newsweek that none of their full-time staff was employed by the agency, but he refused to discuss stringers.[34] Both Bernstein's and the New York Times's investigations into the CIA's use of journalists, however, uncovered alleged and substantiated connections between the CIA and the Times, New York Herald Tribune, ABC and CBS News, Time, Life and Newsweek magazines, Associated Press and United Press International, Scripps-Howard chain, Christian Science Monitor, Louisville Courier-Journal and Wall Street Journal.

An article in Penthouse magazine revealed that the Copley News Service had acted as intelligence arms for the CIA and FBI from 1953-1973, and 23 CNS employees were paid for work by the CIA. Naturally, the charged was denied.[35] Nevertheless, one Copley correspondent recalled that at important news events in Latin America over the years she would sometimes find herself surrounded by as many as a half dozen strangers bearing Copley credentials. But according to the home office, she was the only Copley correspondent on the scene.[36]

Denials from news organizations abound regarding relationships between their correspondents and the CIA. Eventually, however, some connection or cooperation seems to surface, and is substantiated. For example, Sam Jaffe, a veteran magazine and broadcast correspondent, charged that there is a list of "some very big names in our profession who at one time...were involved with the CIA."[37] Names on the list, he said, included John Chancellor of NBC, Walter Cronkite of CBS and William Sheehan and Lou Cioffi of ABC. Supposedly the list contains from 40 to 200 names. Jaffe's credibility was tainted, however, because he has been out of work for years, in part because of his tangled relationship with the FBI and CIA. His career ended amid rumors that he had become a Russian spy when he had been ABC's first Moscow bureau chief.[38]

In his Esquire column, Taylor Branch said he also had been told by people from the Nixon White House that such a list does exist. According to these people, Nixon's men wanted some ammunition to use against their press critics, and figured a little CIA blackmail would do. A Nixon man high in the CIA allegedly compiled a list of all reporters who appeared in agency files as the source of any information whatsoever, and most of the media "heavies" were included.[39]

Although all CIA connections were at first denied, CBS News President Richard S. Salant later confirmed that CBS had cooperated with the CIA during the 1950s and early 1960s. The extent of the cooperation, he said, was to allow CIA agents to monitor news reports coming into the network's studios. CIA agents also were provided with outtakes and blow-ups of news footage. Salant said the network's relationship with the agency terminated when he took over in 1961.[40] As noted earlier, however, CIA agent Donald Allan was a CBS stringer for a while. In all likelihood there were others.

Shortly after CBS confirmed its CIA connection, ABC and NBC executives declared emphatically that they had never been contacted by the CIA and denied having any factual knowledge of CIA contacts with any other executives in their organizations.[41]

Robert Friedman suggests that while Jaffe is no innocent victim, he has become a "scapegoat for the media; for the executives who approved of or even encouraged covert contact between their employees and government intelligence agencies, and who, to this day, are covering up this history; for the journalists who allowed themselves to be used by the FBI and CIA, and who would much rather forget than come forward as Jaffe has done."[42]

Cultivating the Press

"One of the things we always had going for us in terms of enticing reporters," said a CIA official, "was that we could make them look better with their home offices. A foreign correspondent with ties to the company [the CIA] stood a much better chance than his competitors of getting the good stories."[43] Good stories were "defector" stories or exclusives "on everything from U.S. government foreign policy to Soviet inentions," and they went to valuable assets such as Hal Hendrix of the Miami News. Hendrix, a key figure in the investigation of the CIA's role in toppling the late Chilean President Salvador Allende, won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. Much of his "inside" story was based on CIA leaks.[44]

In some instances, the CIA has leaked information to its friends to serve the agency's own ends. For example, in 1971 the CIA gave a New York Times reporter information for an article about Soviet spying around the world. Among other things, the article mentioned that many of the Russians working at the United Nations were with the KGB, the Soviet counterpart to the CIA. The CIA specifically fingered Vladimir Pavlichenko and asked that he be mentioned in the article. The reporter complied without citing the CIA as the source. Although the Times charges were almost certainly accurate, one Washington-based media executive said:

> The truth of the charges has nothing to do with the question of whether an American newspaper should allow itself to become involved in the warfare between opposing intelligence services without giving its readers an idea of what is happening. If the CIA wants to make a public statement about a Soviet agent at the UN, or the U.S. government wants to expel the spy for improper activities, such actions would be legitimate subjects for press coverage, but to cooperate with the agency in fingering the spy without informing the reader, is at best not straightforward reporting.[45]

That was not the first instance of something less than straightforward reporting. Bernstein's article in Rolling Stone cites an instance in which Times columnist C.L. Sulzberger was given a briefing paper by the CIA. According to several CIA officials, the paper ran almost verbatim under the columnist's byline on September 13, 1967. Sulzberger said the accusation was a "lot of baloney" and that he "would never get caught near the spook business."[46] After Bernstein's article came out, though, E. Howard Hunt, former CIA officer and paroled Watergate conspirator, told MORE that he wrote the paper given to Sulzberger. Hunt says the column, headlined "Foreign Affairs: Where the Spies Are," was "75 percent unchanged" from a paper he had prepared at the request of then-CIA director Richard Helms. Interestingly, the Sulzberger column noted that Soviet intelligence organizations make "wide use of diplomatic, journalistic, and commercial cover."[47]

On December 6, 1977, the Times printed an article about a Greek expatriate, Elias Demetracopoulos, a foe of the former Greek military junta (which the CIA had supported). The CIA told the reporter, David Binder, that in the 1950s Demetracopoulos "was associated with both the Yugoslav and Israeli intelligence services."[48] But the CIA's own secret files contain a memo written in 1975 to the director that contradicts the information given to Binder. The memo states:

> While he [Demetracopoulos] has been an annoyance, there are no hard facts in the record to show that he has worked for any foreign government against the interests of Greece (or for that matter the United States), that he is in the pay of any national government, that he has ever been a member of a foreign intelligence service.[49]

Apparently the campaign by the CIA to discredit the Greek has been going on for some time. Columnists Evans and Novak recall that in November 1967 when they reported on Demetracopoulos's lobbying against the U.S.-backed junta, they received an "off the record" call from a "reputable" CIA officer warning them to beware of Demetracopoulos. According to the CIA officer, the Greek had been a double agent in Greece, which, of course, was also a lie.[50]

The Times published a five-part series on the CIA in 1966, a commendable undertaking, even though it permitted a former CIA man to review it. Secretary of State Dean Rusk telephoned Times publisher Arthur Sulzberger to tell him that the series might endanger agents, offend allies, encourage enemies and otherwise harm the national interest and perhaps the national security. The call was made before the series was even written. Nevertheless, the Times decided to submit

the series to former CIA Director John McCone for review. Turner Catledge, former manager editor of the Times, said,

> We changed certain facts when we were persuaded we had been in error or that danger to an agent or an operation might result. When we'd finished with the facts, the CIA challenged the tone of the articles, and some of our conclusions, but we said we'd make the decision on those things.[51]

A Times reporter who was knowledgeable about the series recalls,

> It was absolutely shocking what we didn't print. Among other things, we had the low-down on the whole secret CIA war in Laos and didn't use it.[52]

Reporters have, understandably, been reluctant to write anything that might endanger national security, interfere with an ongoing operation or, in Tom Wicker's words, "get an agent killed in Timbuktu."[53] The problem is that the CIA has played upon these fears and used them to convince newsmen that certain stories should not be written. One story that was not written concerned the U-2 spy plane missions over Russia. Chalmers Roberts, who was the Washington Post's diplomatic correspondent at the time, confirms that he and other newsmen knew in the late 1950s about the U-2 missions. The story broke, of course, when one of the planes was shot down over Russia in 1960. While premature disclosure would have forced the Soviets to take action, the Soviets were fully aware of the spy planes flying overhead five days after the missions began.[54]

Another story held back in the interest of national security concerned the Bay of Pigs Invasion of Cuba. The Times had uncovered nearly the complete story about the upcoming invasion, but the article was edited to eliminate all mention of CIA involvement or of an imminent invasion. Less than a month later, at a meeting where he was urging newspaper editors not to print security information, President Kennedy told a Times editor, "If you had printed more about the operation, you would have saved us from a colossal mistake."[55]

In 1973, CIA Chief William Colby was able to persuade the Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, Washington Star, NBC and ABC, and Newsweek and Parade magazines to keep the lid on a story about efforts to pluck a Soviet submarine from the ocean bottom. Although the CIA made frenetic efforts to keep Project Jennifer a secret, self-imposed press censorship collapsed when Jack Anderson broke the story. In Anderson's view, the CIA was trying to suppress the story "not because the operation was a secret, but because it was a $350 million failure."[56]

Propagandizing the Public

American journalists have not been the only ones to assist the CIA in its propaganda mission. Foreign reporters have been and still are used by the CIA. Philip Agee, in his book Inside the Company: CIA Diary, lists correspondents and news organizations used by the CIA. One of these which the CIA financed and controlled is the Agencia Orbe Latinoamericano, a feature news service serving most of Latin America. A CIA media agent who worked for the AOL was also the Montevideo correspondent for the Italian wire service.[57]

Loory describes the process for planting stories overseas. A CIA man would contact a London-based Reuters correspondent working under contract to the CIA. The Reuters man would be given a phony story which he in turn would pass on to the Reuters correspondent in Stockholm. The London man would tell the Stockholm man he had the information on good authority, but to protect the source, the story should emanate from the Swedish capital. The Stockholm man, believing his colleague, would put the story on the wire, not realizing he was handling a deliberately falsified plant.

> That such a story might find its way back into American newspapers and broadcasts was considered by the CIA an unfortunate by-product of the holy war to save the world from communism. And they had no qualms about feeding misinformation to the foreign press.[58]

The amount and nature of misinformation picked up by the American press from overseas is impossible to determine. An "early warning network" within the U.S. government advises diplomats and other key officials to ignore news stories that have been planted by the CIA overseas. Officials said the network has worked well with only occasional failures. Unfortunately, the U.S. media are not afforded a similar courtesy. They have no way of knowing which foreign dispatches are distorted or perhaps even false. As a former senior official of the agency testified before the Church Committee:

> There is no way in this increasingly small world of ours of insulating information that one puts out overseas and confining it to the area where one puts it out.... When British intelligence was operating in the last century, they could plant an outrageous story in some local publication and feel fairly confident that no one else would ever hear about it, that would be the end of it.... That is no longer the case.
> ....
> If you plant an article in some paper overseas, and it is a hard-hitting article, or a revelation, there is no way of guaranteeing that it is not going to be picked up and published by the Associated Press in this country.[59]

A report fabricated by the CIA in the early 1950s was good enough to be widely disseminated. An agent inside one of the major American wire services reported that Chinese troops were on board ships steaming for Vietnam to aid the Communists in their battle with the French.[60]

When the Washington Star revealed that the CIA employed journalists, New Republic observed:

> Looking back on some of the accounts from Vietnam in the early days of the war leads one to wonder whether more than a few journalists there at the time were quite deliberately putting out a line the CIA wanted to propagate.[61]

The CIA has maintained that domestic fallout of propaganda was unsought, but unavoidable. At times, however, not only has fallout been expected, it has been welcomed. CIA records for the September-October 1970 propaganda effort in Chile indicate that "replay" of propaganda in the United States was expected.

> Sao Paulo, Tegucigalpa, Buenos Aires, Lima, Montevideo, Bogota, Mexico City report continued replay of Chile theme materials. Items also carried in New York Times, Washington Post. Propaganda activities continue to generate good coverage of Chile developments along our theme guidance.[62]

Certainly, the CIA must have expected its propaganda to reach the American public when its own Forum World Features Service had 30 domestic newspapers among its clients, including the Washington Post.[63]

There is, in fact, one instance in which the agency used its propaganda machinery to support an issue of far more concern to Americans, and to the CIA itself, than to citizens of other countries. The CIA cabled its overseas stations seeking to discredit critics of the Warren Commission Report and cautioned the stations against initiating a discussion of the "assassination question." Where such discussions were underway, CIAofficers were directed to "discuss the publicity problem with liaison and friendly elite contacts, especially politicians and editors" and to "employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics. Book reviews and feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose," the cable said.[64]

Chicago Tribune editor Clayton Kirkpatrick believes the practice of planting false and misleading stories abroad ought to stop, "not just to protect Americans from propaganda fallout, but to protect all readers from misinformation. This government should not deliberately deceive foreign readers any more than it should deceive its own people."[65]

Conclusion

In 1973, Stuart Loory prophetically commented that "If foreign sources come to mistrust American journalists because of a suspected dual allegiance, the American public will be ill-served."[66] But everyone ignored the handwriting on the wall. Today the spectre of CIA ties with the media has caused renewed mistrust and harassment of U.S. correspondents around the world, and in some cases their expulsion. In some parts of the world, of course, American journalists have always been suspected of serving as intelligence operatives on the side. Now, however, the suspicions are grounded in fact and correspondents have reported that newsgathering is more difficult because of it.

Last June, for example, Los Angeles Times correspondent Robert Toth was detained and interrogated while on assignment in Russia. Articles in the Soviet press charged that Toth had sought the acquaintance of Soviet scientists in order to obtain sensitive information for U.S. special agencies. The allegations were denied and President Carter stated publicly that a special inquiry had revealed no links between the correspondent and the CIA.[67] The problem, perhaps, would not have arisen had it not been for the history of involvement between the CIA and journalists.

A less publicized incident of a year ago involved the expulsion of an Associated Press correspondent after charging him with illegal currency transactions. Earlier, the Soviet press had accused him of being an intelligence agent. That was the first expulsion of an American correspondent from the USSR since 1970. A Washington Post correspondent was accused by the Soviets of distorting Soviet politics to worsen Soviet-American relations, and warned that continuation of such behavior would have "consequences." Czechoslovak authorities detained American correspondents from NBC and the New York Times. In separate incidents, each correspondent was removed from a train while leaving the country and searched, and had papers confiscated. The Czechoslovak press also has accused Western newsmen of "slinking" around the apartments of dissidents, while the Soviet press continued to "attack American journalists for alleged intelligence connections."[68]

The truth or falsity of the charges is irrelevant because they are thought to be true by the rest of the world. Because a few journalists have been in the CIA's employ, all journalists are now suspect. Perhaps it would be a good idea, as Loory suggested in testimony before a House Subcommittee, to "air completely the past relationships between the CIA and the press, including revelation of

names, dates, places and duties, in order to wipe the slate clean and create the conditions for a future free of suspicion."[69] Revealing this information is not, as Editor & Publisher put it, an attempt to "tar and feather" those journalists who cooperated with the CIA "many years ago in a different international climate."[70]

Some say there will be a whole new ballgame between the press and the CIA, but what are the new rules thus far? By the end of 1976 all paid or contractual relationships with correspondents had been terminated by the CIA and there is a ban on any paid intelligence activities by either journalists or stringers. Exceptions can be made, however, with the specific approval of the CIA director. In addition, the agency directives do not preclude any person, including accredited journalists or stringers, from furnishing information which may be useful to the government.[71] So it would seem that the door has been left ajar. Indeed, one CIA official predicts that "the pendulum will swing, and someday we'll be recruiting journalists again. When that day comes, I will have no problem recruiting. I see a lot of them, and I know they're ripe for the plucking."[72]

The real issue, though, is not whether journalists are paid or not paid by the CIA for the information they provide or the tasks they carry out, but whether journalists can serve two masters. Despite Joseph Alsop's contention that journalists have a double duty, to the facts and to their country,[73] the facts of the CIA-media connection speak for themselves. As the evidence presented here clearly demonstrates, whenever the media have been used, wittingly or unwittingly, by the CIA, they and the public have been duped. Journalists can practice their patriotism best, it seems, "by fulfilling their obligations to the readers and viewers who rely on their independence."[74]

Footnotes

[1]"A Young Reporter's Decision to Join CIA Led to Strain, Anger and Regret," New York Times, 27 December 1977, p. 41.

[2]Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media," Rolling Stone, 20 October 1977, p. 65.

[3]An asset is a term applied to a person who is contributing to a CIA clandestine mission, but is not a fully controlled CIA agent.

[4]Proprietaries are business entities, wholly owned by the CIA, which either actually do business as private firms, or appear to do business under commercial guise.

[5]"CIA and the Press," Editor & Publisher, 17 September 1977, p. 6.

[6]"Worldwide Propaganda Network Built by CIA," New York Times, 26 December 1977, p. 1.

[7]George S. Bryan, The Spy in America (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1943), cited in U.S. Congress, Senate, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, S. Doc. 94-755, 94th Cong., 2d sess., 1976, Book VI, p. 11.

[8]Ibid., p. 12.

[9]"Shaping Tomorrow's CIA," Time, 6 February 1978, p. 15.

[10]Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 33.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Victor Marchetti, "An Introductory Overview," in Robert L. Borosage and John Marks, eds., The CIA File (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976), p. xii.

[13]David Wise, The American Police State: The Government Against the People (New York: Random House, 1976), p. 186.

[14]Bernstein, p. 58.

[15]A safe house is an innocent-appearing house or premises established by an intelligence organization for conducting clandestine or covert activity in relative security.

[16]"CIA Established Many Links to Journalists in U.S. and Abroad," New York Times, 27 December 1977, p. 40.

[17]Bernstein, p. 56.

[18]"CIA Established Many Links."

[19]"A Young Reporter's Decision."

[20]"Varying Ties to CIA Confirmed in Inquiry," New York Times, 27 December 1977, p. 41.

[21]"CIA Established Many Links."

[22]Robert V. Brown, "E & P's CIA Connection," Editor & Publisher, 8 October 1977, p. 48.

[23]"Tinker, Tailor, Newsman, Spy?" Broadcasting, 2 February 1976, p. 33.

[24]"The CIA Connection," Newsweek, 10 December 1973, p. 81.

[25]Bernstein, p. 55.

[26]"The CIA's 3-Decade Effort to Mold the World's Views," New York Times, 25 December 1977, p. 1.

[27]U.S., Congress, Senate, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, S. Doc. 94-755. 94th Cong., 2d sess., 1976, Book I, p. 192 (hereafter cited as the Church Committee Report).

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[46]Bernstein, p. 59.

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[51]Victor L. Marchetti and John D. Marks, "Undercovering the CIA," MORE, April 1977, p. 10.

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[58]Loory, p. 12. [59]Church Committee Report, Book I, p. 198.

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[63]"Worldwide Propaganda Network," p. 37.

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